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Building/Planning Lobby Converges on Washington, Demands Peace and New Priorities

By Bob Bogen and John Stern

In the steaming weather of the Potomac on July 22, well over a hundred members of the planning and building professions were fighting with words and pictures for peace, new priorities, and survival for our cities. In this first, shall we say, too-long-delayed effort of this kind, there was some sort of quiet dividend for PEO members and the other concerned architects, builders, and planners who have been long advocating this sort of pressure.

The Lobby included a large froup from the New York area who chartered two Penn Central cars. Briefings and evaluation went on during the journey. The New York group constructed a free-standing exhibit of corrugated paper showing plan, programs, and projects cancelled or deferred by the war—housing projects, health facilities, recreation plans, public transport, and environmental control programs. The exhibit provided a substantive and dramatic backdrop for local and national TV as well as helping to educate congressmen and newsmen visiting the Lobby headquarters in the Senate Appropriations Committee Hearing Room.

Four groups, each consisting of about eight people, were each assigned to visit three Senators, while the rest were visited in the conference room by Senators Dole of Kansas, Gravel of Alaska, and Javits of New York during the afternoon. A small group visited the National Goals Commission.

Briefings were conducted by the Continuing Presence in Washington, a committee of apparently almost unpaid volunteers who have collected information on each Senator, including his voting record, stand on the war, personal approaches to issues and interviews, whether he's up for re-election. They also set up the appointments for the day. We came away with the impression that this is how the war will be ended: that is, by action of Congress, and lobbying is the most effective means to accomplish this. There is a deep earnestness and seriousness about these efforts.

One group, for instance, was coordinated by Architect Percival Goodman. They visited Senators Mc Intyre of New Hampshire, Montoya of New Mexico, and Talmadge of Georgia. None were in, so they talked to their assistants. Mc Intyre and Montoya are both opposed to the war, but represent constituencies that are substantially pro-Nixon. Montoya, in addition, faces a tough election campaign against a well-heeled oilman. They both cite the arguments that 1) we cannot win in Vietnam, 2) that continued war is polarizing the country, and 3) that Congress must reassert its authority and end the war. Talmadge is not in favor of the McGovern-Hatfield Amendment, but is said to favor ending our military effort in Vietnam—a change in his opinion over the last ten months.

They left the Senators' assistants a table showing how many days of Vietnam expenditures would take care of the federal share of needs for the next generation, for example, in the Tri-State New York Metropolitan Region. For example, seven months of war

Hartman 'Mechanism' Starts

The gulf between Chester Hartman, most Harvard GSD students, and many of its alumni on one hand and the GSD administration on the other continues wide. The first of two stages of the creaky AAUP grievance mechanism has been cranked up in Harvard, aimed at determining whether injustice prevailed when Chester Hartman's assistant professorship at the GSD was not continued.

Hartman reports that he has submitted a brief and supporting documents under this mechanism to the first-stage committee, which, encouragingly, is to be made up of non-GSD faculty members—although appointed by the GSD faculty. He has also asked that the committee be appointed at the first faculty meeting of the fall term. An excellent civil liberties lawyer will assist him. As the case unfolds, Hartman will be spending a year in California, working at the National Housing Law Project at the U. C. Law School and writing for a newspaper. ○■□●

Gibson Coalesces Discontented Groups in Newark — Immediacy Likely to Be Focus of Planning

By Stanley B. Winters,
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Ken Gibson's triumph in Newark's hard-fought mayoral contest should give a shot-in-the-arm to advocacy planners, civil libertarians, civil rightists, and believers in Horatio Alger throughout the country. While the national scene is, to be charitable, uneven and murky, the events in Newark provide a basis for some slight optimism.

As recently as last Thanksgiving, Newark's political pundits were agreed: "This isn't the Negro's year. White registered voters still outnumber blacks. Italian, Irish, and other white voters in the North and West wards will go solidly for a white candidate, but the blacks will divide among themselves and even vote for the white." Gibson's win in May's first election effectively demolished those myths; his victory in the June runoff against incombent Mayor Hugh Addonizio wrecked a host of others.

How was it done? What does it mean for city planning, renewal, and the future of Newark? The full story is too complex and too fascinating to be unraveled fully here, but the significant highlights follow:

□● Kenneth A. Gibson, 38, is a political moderate, shunning violence in speech and in action so long as established legal and political channels have not been tried or fully utilized. Yet he had solid lines of communication to militants and conservatives alike.

□● He is not—at least till now—a professional politician but a licensed civil engineer with a degree from Newark College of Engineering. As an engineer for the State, the City and the housing authority, qualified through civil service exam, he held a position of some status in the black community while gaining valuable insights into public works, highway, and housing programs. A non-political professional, he was therefore not saddled with the reputation of opportunism, wheeling-dealing, and partisan political involvement earned by numerous black Newark politicians.

The Making of a Mayor

Gibson built up an aura of seriousness, reliability, honesty, and willingness-to-learn through almost a decade of civic activity ranging from Urban League, Junior Chamber of Commerce, BICC (a joint business-civil rights venture in skills training and enterprise promotion), and UCC (antipoverty) on the one hand to LeRoi Jones' New Ark Cultural Center on the other.

He built contacts with local and national officials and businessmen interested in the cities generally and Newark in particular. These included Richard Hatcher in Gary, Ind., Carl Stokes in Cleveland, Ken Clark in New York, and others in the black political and social movement.

□● After Gibson's defeat in the 1966 mayoralty race (his debut in politics; he finished third out of six), he consolidated a supporting civic association, formed the nucleus of an advisory committee, and kept up a steady round of speaking engagements at PTAs, fraternal groups, and grass- and sub-grass-roots organizations. Rickety utopian experiments like the SDS-launched Newark Community Union Project (1964-67) never really turned him on.

□● Following the Newark uprising of 1967, he drew sober, realistic conclusions about the roles of the city administration and the police department in reducing Newark to its present levels of frustration and woe. He learned of probable links between organized crime, official corruption, and the pathological conditions of Negro life in New Jersey's largest city.

Against the Land Swindle

□● Based on these insights he almost singlehandedly exposed the threatened raid on the city's wealth and resources contained in a proposal, drafted by the Addonizio administration, to turn over the Newark water supply, pipelines, reservoirs, and adjacent undeveloped land (38,000 acres in all) in western New Jersey to a newly formed, autonomous water resources authority headed by Addonizio appointees. The authority would have had its own bonding capacity and full rights to sell any assets. In return it would have paid the city a fixed sum for 150 years.

The transfer of these assets by City Council resolution last year was voided in the courts after Gibson's suit. Subsequently, two of the authority's top officials were indicted along with a dozen other elected and appointed city officials (including Mayor Addonizio and seven present and former city councilmen) by a federal grand jury on charges of extortion and tax evasion.

□● Last December Gibson sought and obtained the endorsement of a Black and Puerto Rican Political Convention held in Newark and attended by 2500 people, black and non-black, although only blacks and Puerto Ricans could vote and be nominated. He profited by the convention's support and never disavowed it in the face of mounting charges from rival politicians of both races that it was racially exclusive and un-American.

On a shoestring, he assembled a volunteer campaign organization, took a leave-of-absence from his civil

service job, and set forth a program "to improve the quality of life for all Newarkers" and bring honesty and efficiency to City Hall. Despite bitter attacks from certain other blacks -especially from State Assemblyman George C. Richardson, darling of some Newark-area liberals–Gibson swept the contest of May 12 as follows:

Gibson	37,919	Matturi	4,734
Addonizio	18,212	Richardson	2,061
Imperiale	13,978	Wheeler	141
Caufield	11,950		

This was not a clear majority of the 91,000 votes cast and hence was insufficient for a first-ballot victory. He entered the runoff against Addonizio.

□● In the runoff, Addonizio with the help of Imperiale whipped up racist fears of a complete black takeover in City Hall, in the schools, and in the residential neighborhoods if Gibson were to win. The main butt of Addonizio's attack, however, was LeRoi Jones as the potential power behind the throne. Responding, Gibson defended Jones' right as a citizen to take part in political campaigning but stated that the poet-dramatist would not receive an appointed position in his administration.

With Bradley's defeat by Yorty in Los Angeles in mind (Bradley too got the most votes, but not a majority, in the first election), Gibson kept his cool and maintained a rising tempo of campaign activity. He stayed away from ideologies, value judgments, and name-calling and stuck to calls for constructive biracial cooperation and campaign decency. But the wretched prospect of an Addonizio victory and a lasting legacy of racial bitterness loomed large in the campaign's closing days.

The Enemy of the Enemy

□● This spurred the "forces of decency," the downtown corporate businesses, the suburban progressives, and national figures (Sens. Clifford Case and George McGovern, the Rev. Jesse Jackson, Sammy Davis Jr. and others) to endorse Gibson, although, of course, the extent of their financial and personal support varied greatly.

Newark's two dailies, the *Star-Ledger* and the *Evening News*, had backed Gibson in the May election and repeated their support even more firmly in the runoff. Support also came, editorially, from CBS-TV and, through funds and bodies, from students and faculties at Newark-Rutgers, Newark College of Engineering, and Essex County Community College. The dilligent work of Jones' New Ark Fund deserves separate mention.

John Caufield, former fire director under Addonizio and a loser in May, endorsed Gibson and openly campaigned by his side, helping to ease the fears of many whites and to broaden Gibson's base in the West and North wards and in the Democratic party organization (although Newark's elections are officially non-partisan).

The results of the June 16 runoff:

Gibson	55,097
Addonizio	43,086

What are the implications of Gibson's election for future planning, renewal, and good government in Newark? Below are some tentative ideas,

□● Gibson has proposed the separation of the housing from the urban redevelopment function of the presently omnipotent and monolithic Newark Housing and Redevelopment Authority.

□● He wants a new department of investigation, independent of the Mayor's office, to check on honesty in government.

□● He is looking for the best-qualified people Newark can afford regardless of race; there will, however, undoubtedly be more top-level blacks and some Puerto Ricans in City Hall from now on.

A Preference for the Short Range

□● There will be a new thrust to city planning as this quotation shows: ". . . I don't like long-range planning. I am opposed to studies which end up in the library some place on somebody's shelf. I am talking about practical planning which can be implemented. It doesn't require a long time to do this kind of planning. If it can be done in other cities, it can be done in Newark." (*Evening News*, June 21, 1970.)

□● A wave of offers of volunteer assistance is rolling in from community, business, educational institutions, and private professionals who want to analyze, organize, and launch new programs or revitalize old ones to tackle Newark's problems.

□● A new breed of younger, socially and urban-oriented graduate will seek employment in Newark under a progressive, moderate administration open to innovation.

□● Certain state and federal assistance, heretofore held back or only partially funded, may become more

Since this article was written, Mayor Gibson has named a white police director, a white fire director (John P. Caulfield, whom Addonizio ousted in January), a white business administrator, and a white finance director, the last two for an interim period. He also increased black representation on the Board of Education by one by naming two black appointees and a Puerto Rican woman to replace a black, a white and a Puerto Rican. –Ed.

readily available to help the new administration get a good start, but how much is involved remains to be seen.

□● Newarkers will gradually shed their self-image of inferiority, self-doubt, and humility mixed with parochially defensive pride. They will gain confidence, self-respect, and momentum.

□● The suburban view of Newark will change from contempt and fear to respect and positive interest.

□● The role of organized crime in many aspects of the city's life will eventually decline.

Of course, for these hopes and projections to reach fulfillment, Gibson's administration will need every talent and every penny it can command. It will be no simple task to slow down, let alone reverse, the menacing trends in Newark and in northern New Jersey that increasingly bedevil getting to work, enjoying recreation and raising a family in peace and good health. ○■□●

An Opinion on Newark

Professor Thomas Pettigrew, social psychologist, regarding Newark:

If you ask people, "What do you think is the most important problem facing Newark today?" half of them—and we've never had so many agree on an answer to this question in any other city—say, "Crime."

They are not using it as a simple code word for racism. They don't mean blacks. They mean crime.

To say the feeling against [former mayor Hugh] Addonizio was "anti-corruption" is true only in part. Actually it was "anti-greed." The Newark voters we studied were tolerant of little shenanigans, but when the Federal Government indicted the Mayor, it became greed. ○■□●

HUD's Summer Series in Washington — The Acting is Better than the Scripts, Audiences are Frustrated

Housing Abandonment

The paradox of vacant and abandoned housing in many of the country's large cities concurrent with severe housing shortages is receiving much attention. Charles Goodell (R—N. Y.) has held a day of hearings in the Senate (attended mostly by landlords) and has been circulating the draft of an idea for solving the problem through better management of properties. Landlords are reported to have found a special interest in the message.

HUD has brainstormed with a group of the experts who have recently been identified with researches in the problem. This session produced an idea for an Urban Homestead Act. The idea is that America should give its Wild West Show another run. We should view this year's urban riots as continuing episodes in the undying struggle between America's cowboys and its sheepherders.

The National Urban League and the Center for Community Change are proceeding less dramatically. Following the lead of Sternleib, Rand, Niebanck et al with researches in New York City, NUL and CCC have created a national research project on housing abandonment. Among additional paradoxes revealed is that some cities have abandonment problems (St. Louis) and some do not (Atlanta), although population and housing characteristics are very similar.

Among the elements receiving blame for abandonment are investor's greed, tenant irresponsibility, bad investment climate, mortgage lending practices, hard-nosed city codes enforcement, and racial fear and antagonism. Clearly any solution to declining housing quality will have to compound many elements. Alchemy, anyone?

1970 HUD Legislation

The Administration's proposals for major housing legislation were brought forth this spring with much fanfare, but the Congress did not take fire at their brillance.

The proposals were conscientiously Republican and very dull—no new programs, but a large attempt to make existing programs more easily administered. Early reviewers of the proposals criticized them for their lack of consumer relativity and their timidity in dealing with the breakdown of capital flow for housing.

A day before the beginning of hearings in the House, a more dramatic proposal was added, seeking Federal preemption of local zoning laws. Consumer groups were not impressed, pointing out during the hearings that better zoning without means for land acquisition will not provide sites for government-aided housing.

Neither the House nor the Seante are seriously considering HUD's proposals at this time and are expected to let them die if not prodded by the Administration. The Administration's current efforts in behalf of the proposals are directed at the public. It is a roundabout way to reach Congress and probably